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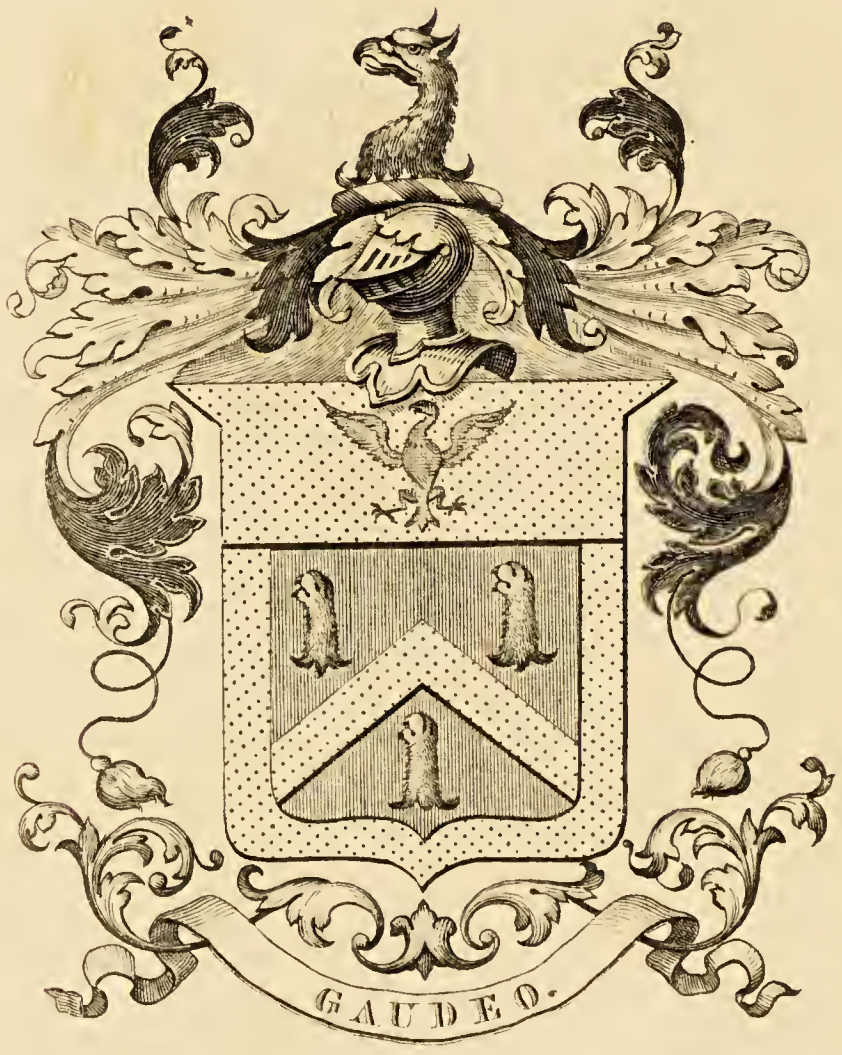

John Carter Brown.

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By John Bidwell

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THE LATE REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE BRITISH COLONIES ON THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA CONSIDERED.

(Price One Shilling.)

RPJCB

THE LATE

REGULATIONS

RESPECTING THE

BRITISH COLONIES

ON THE CONTINENT OF

AMERICA

CONSIDERED,

In a Letter from a Gentleman in PHILADELPHIA to his Friend in LONDON.

Prosunt minus recte excogitata; cum alios incitent saltem ad veritatis investigationem. FULB. A BARTOL.

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MDCCLXVI.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

RPJCB

THE LATE
REGULATIONS
RESPECTING THE
BRITISH COLONIES
CONSIDERED.

SIR,

WHEN I laſt wrote to you and ſaid, "that the late meaſures reſpecting *America*, would not only be extremely injurious to the *Colonies*, but alſo to *Great Britain*," I little thought I was entering into an engagement, which would oblige me to exceed the uſual limits of a letter: but ſince you deſire to have at large the reaſons in ſupport of this opinion, and I always think it my duty to comply with your requeſts, I will endeavour, in the cleareſt manner I can, to lay my ſentiments before you.

THE *American* continental colonies are inhabited by perſons of ſmall fortune, who *are* ſo cloſely employed in ſubduing a wild country, for their ſubſiſtence, and who *would* labour under ſuch difficulties in contending with old and populous coun-

tries, which muſt exceed them in workmanſhip and cheapneſs, that they have not time nor any temptation to apply themſelves to manufactures.

HENCE ariſes the * importance of the colonies to *Great Britain*. Her proſperity depends on her com-

* It has been ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, when complaints have been made of the decay of trade to any part of *Europe*, " That ſuch things were not worth regard, as *Great Britain* was poſſeſt of colonies that could conſume more of her manufactures than ſhe was able to ſupply them with."

" As the caſe now ſtands, we ſhall ſhew that the *plantations* are a ſpring of *wealth* to this nation, that they *work* for us, that their treaſure *centers all here*, and that the laws have tied them faſt enough to us; ſo that it muſt be through our own fault and miſmanagement, if they become independant of *England*."

DAVENANT on the Plantation trade.

" It is better that the iſlands ſhould be ſupplied from the Northern Colonies than from *England*, for this reaſon; the proviſions we might ſend to *Barbados*, *Jamaica*, *&c.* would be *unimprov'd* product of the earth, as grain of all kinds, or ſuch product where there is little got by the improvement, as malt, ſalt, beef and pork; indeed, the exportation of ſalt-fiſh thither would be more advantageous, but the goods which we ſend to the *Northern Colonies*, are ſuch, whoſe *improvement* may be juſtly ſaid one with another to be near *four-fifths* of the value of the *whole commodity*, as apparel, houſhold-furniture, and many other things." *Idem.*

" *New-England* is the moſt prejudicial plantation to the kingdom of *England*; and yet, to do right to that moſt induſtrious *Engliſh* colony, I muſt confeſs, that though we loſe by their unlimited trade with other foreign plantations, yet we are very great gainers by their direct trade to and from *Old England*. Our yearly exportations of *Engliſh* manufactures, malt and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to *ten times* the value of what is imported from thence; which calculation I do not make at random, but upon *mature conſideration*, and, peradventure, upon *as much experience in this very trade*, as any other perſon will pretend to; and therefore, whenever

commerce; her commerce on her manufactures; her manufactures on the markets for them; and

ever reformation of our correſpondency in trade with that people ſhall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require GREAT TENDERNESS, and VERY SERIOUS CIRCUMSPECTION."

Sir JOSIAH CHILD's diſcourſe on trade.

" Our plantations ſpend moſtly our *Engliſh* manufactures, and thoſe *of all ſorts almoſt imaginable*, in *egregious quantities*, and employ near *two thirds of all our* Engliſh *ſhipping*; ſo that we have *more people* in *England*, by reaſon of our plantations in *America*." *Idem.*

Sir JOSIAH CHILD ſays, in another part of his work, " That not more than fifty families are maintained in *England* by the refining of ſugar." From whence, and from what *Davenant* ſays, it is plain, that the advantages here ſaid to be derived from the plantations by *England*, muſt be meant chiefly of the continental colonies.

See notes to pages 11 *and* 12.

" I ſhall ſum up my whole remarks on our *American* colonies, with this obſervation, that as they are a certain annual revenue of ſeveral millions ſterling to their Mother Country, they ought carefully to be protected, duly encouraged, and every opportunity that preſents, improved for their increment and advantage, as every one they can poſſibly reap, muſt at laſt return to us with intereſt."

BEAWES's Lex merc. red.

" We may ſafely advance, that our trade and navigation are greatly encreaſed by our colonies, and that they really are a ſource of treaſure and naval power to this kingdom, ſince *they work for us*, and *their treaſure centers here*. Before their ſettlement, our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent; the number of *Engliſh* merchants very ſmall, and the whole ſhipping of the nation much inferior to what now belongs to the Northern Colonies only. *Theſe are certain facts.* But ſince their eſtabliſhment, our condition has altered for the better, almoſt to a degree beyond credibility.—Our MANUFACTURES are prodigiouſly encreaſed, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they AT LEAST TAKE OFF ONE HALF, and ſupply us with many valuable commodities for exportation, which is as great an emolument to the Mother Kingdom, as to the plantations themſelves."

POSTLETHWAYT's univ. dict. of trade and comm.

the moſt conſtant and advantageous markets are afforded by the colonies, as in all others the * reſt of *Europe* interferes with her, and various accidents may interrupt them. The benefit from hence is at *preſent* immenſe; but in *future* times when *America* ſhall be more fully peopled, muſt exceed with prudent management the warmeſt wiſhes of a *Britiſh* Patriot.

Our chief productions are proviſions, naval ſtores, furs, iron and lumber. A few colonies yield tobacco and indigo. Some of theſe commodities are neceſſary to *Great Britain*; but all that ſhe requires are vaſtly inſufficient to pay for her manufactures which we want. The productions of ſome of the Southern Colonies may perhaps be equal to their demands, but the caſe is widely different with the Northern; for in theſe, the importations from *Great Britain* are computed to be generally more than double the value of their immediate exportations to that kingdom.

The only expedient left us for making our remittances, is to carry on ſome other trade, whereby we can obtain ſilver and gold, which our own country does not afford. Hence it is evident, that if our taking off and paying for her manufactures, is beneficial to *Great Britain*, the channels by which we acquire money for that purpoſe, ought to be induſtriouſly kept open and uninterrupted.

* "Moſt of the nations of *Europe* have interfered with us, more or leſs, in divers of our ſtaple manufactures, within half a century, not only in our woollen, but in our lead and tin manufactures, as well as our fiſheries."
Postlethwayt's univ. dict. of trade and comm.

OUR trade with *Spain*, *Portugal* and the foreign plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, have chiefly anſwered this end, though with much difficulty, the mother country having long ſince drawn the * commercial cords with which the colonies are bound, extremely tight upon them. Every thing produced *here*, that *Great Britain* chuſes to take to herſelf, muſt be carried to that kingdom † *only*——Every thing we

* As far as regulations are requiſite to confine the commerce of the colonies to *Britiſh* ſubjects and to *Britiſh* ſhips; to give *Great Britain* the preference in being ſupplied with naval ſtores, ſo eſſential to her ſtrength at ſea; with commodities neceſſary for carrying on her woollen manufactures, or ſuch articles as can bear high duties upon them, and thereby make a conſiderable addition to the revenue; or as far as they are requiſite to prevent the colonies from being ſupplied with any thing in the place of *Britiſh* manufactures, they may be reaſonable. Theſe regulations, it is apprehended, eſtabliſh the baſis of the *Britiſh* power; and form ſuch a firm connection between the Mother Country and her Colonies, as will produce all the advantages ſhe ought to wiſh for, or that they can afford her. Any further attempt to ſhackle *ſome* of the colonies in favour of *others*, or to advance the revenue in *America* by reſtraining her trade, is but regulating by a ſevere exerciſe of power, what wants no regulation, and loſing by too much haſte to gain. (*See Notes to pages* 14, 15.) *Unneceſſary* and *irritating* reſtrictions, will at laſt caſt *contempt* and *hatred* on thoſe *ſubſtantial* ones, that length of time, and the natural reverence of Colonies for their Mother Country, would have conſecrated; for diſcontented minds are not apt to diſtinguiſh. "Narrow-limited notions in trade and planting, are only advanced by, and can only be of uſe to *particular* perſons, but are always injurious to the *public* intereſts, in preventing the full employment of our own people, and giving our rivals and competitors in trade, the opportunity of employing greater numbers of theirs, producing greater quantities of merchandizes, and underſelling us at foreign markets."

POSTLETHWAYT's univ. dict. of trade and comm.

† *Monteſquieu*, ſpeaking of the contract made by *Poland* for ſelling *all* her corn to *Dantzick* ONLY; and another

we chuſe to import from *Europe*, muſt be ſhipped in † *Great Britain*---Heavy duties have been laid on our importations from the foreign plantations.

HOWEVER, under all theſe reſtraints and ſome others that have been impoſed on us, we have not till lately been unhappy. Our ſpirits were not depreſſed. We apprehended no deſign formed againſt our liberty. We for a long time enjoyed peace, and were quite free from any heavy debt, either internal or external. We had a paper currency which ſerved as a medium of domeſtic commerce, and permitted us to employ all the gold and ſilver we could acquire, in trade abroad. We had a multitude of markets for our proviſions, lumber and iron. Theſe allowed liberties, with ſome others we aſſumed, enabled us to collect conſiderable ſums of money for the joint benefit of ourſelves and our mother country.

BUT the modern regulations are in every circumſtance afflicting. The remittances we have been able to make to *Great Britain*, with all the licence hitherto granted or taken, and all the money brought among us in the courſe of the late war, have not been ſufficient to pay her what we owe;

other of the like nature between ſome *Indian* princes and the *Dutch* for ſpices, ſays; " Theſe agreements are proper for a poor nation, whoſe inhabitants are ſatisfied *to forego the hopes of enriching themſelves*, provided *they can be ſecure of a certain ſubſiſtence*; or for nations, whoſe SLAVERY conſiſts either *in renouncing the uſe of thoſe things which nature has given them*; or in being OBLIGED TO SUBMIT TO A DISADVANTAGEOUS COMMERCE."

† Except Salt from any part of *Europe* for the fiſheries of *Newfoundland*, *New-England*, *New-York* and *Penſylvania*; and a few things from *Ireland*.

but

but there ſtill remains due, according to a late calculation made by the *Engliſh* merchants, the ſum of four millions ſterling. Beſides this, we are and have been for many years heavily taxed, for the payment of the debts contracted by our efforts againſt the common enemy. Theſe ſeem to be difficulties ſevere enough for young colonies to contend with. The laſt * ſinks our paper currency very faſt. The former ſweeps off our ſilver and gold in a torrent to *Great Britain*, and leaves us continually toiling to ſupply from a number of diſtant ſprings the continually waſting ſtream.

THUS drained, we are prohibited by new and ſtricter reſtraints being laid on our trade, from procuring theſe coins as we uſed to do; and from inſtituting among ourſelves bills of credit in the place of ſuch portions of them as are required in our internal traffic; and in this exhauſted condition, our languiſhing country is to ſtrive to take up and to totter under the additional burthen of the STAMP ACT.

IN defence of the prohibition to inſtitute *bills of credit*, it may be ſaid, " that ſome few colonies, by injudicious emiſſions of paper currency, did great injury to individuals." It is true: But it is as true, that others † always ſupported the credit of their bills in ſuch a manner, that their emiſſions

* While the quantity of paper currency is proportioned to the uſes for it, it muſt be beneficial; and therefore to ſink it below that quantity, muſt be prejudicial.

† No attempt was ever made in this province and ſome others, to pay *Engliſh* debts any otherwiſe than according to the rate of exchange; and no complaint was ever made of injuſtice from the depreciation of the currency.

were

were of vaſt benefit both to the provinces and to *Great Britain.* The inconveniencies under which the colonies laboured before theſe emiſſions are well remembered, and were produced by the ſame cauſe that diſtreſſes us at this time; that is, by *Great Britain*'s taking off all our gold and ſilver. There was then ſo little money among ſeveral of them, that a ſtop was put in a manner to buying and ſelling, and even ſhop-keepers were obliged to barter their goods for food. The effect produced by theſe emiſſions was ſurpriſing——Trade revived; and the remarkable and immediate * increaſe of our importations ſhewed how advantageous they were

* Value of the exports from *England* to *Pennſylvania* at different periods.

In 1723	they were	£15,992 19 4
1730	——	48,592 7 5
1737	—— ——	56,690 6 7
1742	—— —	75,295 3 4

In the year 1723 the firſt bills of credit were emitted in *Pennſylvania*, to the value of £45000. In 1728, part of the firſt emiſſion being then ſunk, £30000 more were emitted. It appears from the account above, that in ſeven years from 1723 to 1730, the exports increaſed £32,599 8 *s.* 1 *d.* ſterling.——In 1738, great part of the preceding emiſſions being then ſunk, there was an emiſſion and re-emiſſion, amounting in the whole to £80000. In five years afterwards, it appears by the account above, the exports increaſed near £20000 ſterling.

In later times when larger emiſſions have been made, the exports have proportionably increaſed. In 1755 £55000 were remitted: and in 1756 £30000.—In 1757, the exports amounted to £268,426 6 6—Afterwards our emiſſions were ſtill greater, and in one year of the war, the exports roſe to more than £700,000 ſterling.

It is not pretended, that the increaſe of our importations is *ſolely* owing to the emiſſions of paper money; but it is thought to be a very great cauſe of that increaſe. It is undoubtedly owing in part to the increaſe of people by propagation, and the influx of foreigners. But ſuch *great* and *ſudden* increaſes as have been mentioned in the ſhort

were to *Great-Britain*. If any inconveniencies were feared from this kind of currency, means might have been found to prevent them, without utterly aboliſhing it: but now, the apprehenſion of miſchiefs that might have been more eaſily obviated, has deprived us of real benefits.

PERHAPS no mode could be deviſed more advantageous to the public, or to individuals, than our method of emitting bills in this province for our own uſe. They are lent out upon good ſecurity, chiefly real, at the intereſt of *five per cent.* The borrowers are allowed a long term for payment, and the ſums borrowed being divided into

ſpace of ſeven or five years, from 1723 to 1730, and from 1737 to 1742, could not in any great degree proceed from the increaſe by propagation; and at that time I think foreigners did not flow in upon us in ſuch numbers as they ſince have done. In the war large ſums were brought among us for the maintenance of the fleets and armies, it is true: but that our currency was then of great utility is evident, becauſe when the greateſt quantity of it was paſſing, bills of exchange were lower than they were for a long time before, or have been ſince.

It may be objected, that the complaint of the ſcarcity of money in *America*, particularly in this province, cannot be well founded, as we have lately had ſuch large emiſſions. I am very ſenſible how liable perſons are to errors in queſtions of this nature, and therefore I think myſelf obliged to ſpeak with diffidence on the ſubject. Perhaps the following obſervations may in ſome meaſure anſwer the objection. 1ſt. About one half of the emiſſions is ſunk. 2dly. A very great part of the bills now circulating, are paſſing in the neighbouring provinces. 3dly. Our gold and ſilver are ſent to *Great-Britain*, ſo that but ſmall quantities thereof are now current among us—and therefore we muſt almoſt entirely rely on our paper for the medium of domeſtic commerce. Laſtly, It does not ſeem probable, that we ſhould have heard ſuch great complaints of the ſcarcity of money, if the extreme reſtrictions of our commerce, had not ſo generally prevented our uſual methods of acquiring it.

equal portions, they are obliged to pay one of theſe with the intereſt of the whole, every year during the term. This renders the payments very eaſy; and as no perſon is permitted to borrow a large ſum, a great number are accommodated. The conſequences of ſuch regulations are obvious. Theſe bills repreſent money in the ſame manner that money repreſents other things. As long therefore as the quantity is proportioned to the uſes, theſe emiſſions have the ſame effects, that the gradual introduction of additional ſums of money would have. People of very ſmall fortunes are enabled to purchaſe and cultivate land, which is of ſo much conſequence in ſettling new countries, or to carry on ſome buſineſs, that without ſuch aſſiſtance they would be incapable of managing: For no private perſon would lend money on ſuch favourable terms. From the borrowers the currency paſſes into other hands, encreaſes conſumption, raiſes the prices of commodities, quickens circulation, and after communicating a vigour to all kinds of induſtry, returns in its courſe into the poſſeſſion of the borrowers, to repay them for that labour which it may properly be ſaid to have produced. They deliver it, according to the original contracts, into the treaſury, where the intereſt raiſes a fund without the impoſition of taxes, for the public uſe.

While emiſſions are thus conducted with prudence, they may be compared to ſprings, whoſe water an induſtrious and knowing farmer ſpreads in many meandering rivulets through his gardens and meadows, and after it has refreſhed all the vegetable tribes it meets with, and has ſet them a growing, leads it into a reſervoir, where it anſwers ſome new purpoſe.

If it could be poſſible to eſtabliſh a currency throughout the colonies, on ſome foundation of this kind, perhaps greater benefits might be derived from it, than would be generally believed without the trial.

With reſpect to the reſtrictions laid on our trade to *foreign plantations*, it has been alledged, as a reaſon for them, "that our iſlands ought to be encouraged." They ought to be: But ſhould the intereſt of one colony be preferred to that of another? Should the welfare of millions be ſacrificed to the magnificence of a few? If the exorbitant profits of one colony muſt ariſe from the depreſſion of another, ſhould not ſuch injuſtice be redreſſed?

There is a vaſt difference to be made in calculating the gains of any particular branch of buſineſs to the *public*, and to *individuals*. The advantages to the laſt may be ſmall, and yet great to the firſt, or the reverſe. The ſtatutes made to reſtrain the trade of the continent in ‖ favour of the iſlands, ſeem

‖ "The agents for *New-York*, in their conteſt with the ſugar colonies, affirmed, That their winters being ſevere, obliged them to take off more of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom *(for which they remitted gold and ſilver)* than all the *iſlands (Jamaica* excepted) *put together*; and which I believe has remained uncontradicted."

Beawes's Lex. merc. red.

If one province then exceeded all our *Weſt-Indies*, except *Jamaica*, in this particular, what proportion would that ſingle iſland bear now to *all the reſt of the continental colonies?*

The following account of the exports from England to the *Northern Colonies*, and to the *Weſt-India Iſlands*, will ſhew they were nearly equal ſome time ago; that thoſe to the *Northern Colonies* now vaſtly exceed, and are

ſeem to tend rather towards promoting ‡ *partial* than *general*, intereſts; and it appears to me no paradox

prodigiouſly increaſing, while thoſe to the Iſlands have continued nearly the ſame.

From 1744 to 1748, incluſive.

Northern Colonies.		*West-India Iſlands.*	
1744	£640,114 12 4	———	£796,112 17 9
1745 —	534,316 2 5	———	503,669 19 9
1746 —	754,945 4 3	———	472,994 19 7
1747 —	726,648 5 5	———	856,463 18 6
1748 —	830,243 16 9	———	734,095 15 3
Total	£3,486,268 1 2	Total	£3,363,337 10 10
		Difference	122,930 10 4
			£3,486,268 1 2

From 1754 to 1758, incluſive.

Northern Colonies.		*West-India Iſlands.*	
1754	£1,246,615 1 11	———	£685,675 3 0
1755 —	1,177,848 6 10	———	694,667 13 3
1756 —	1,428,720 18 10	———	733,458 16 3
1757 —	1,727,924 2 10	———	776,488 0 6
1758 —	1,832,948 13 10	———	877,571 19 11
Total	£7,414,057 4 3	Total	£3,767,841 12 11
		Difference	3,646,215 11 4
			£7,414,057 4 3

Total for the *Northern Colonies*, in the firſt Term —— ——	£3,486,268 1 2
Ditto, in the ſecond Term ——	7,414,057 4 3
Increaſe,	£3,927,789 3 1
Total for the *Weſt-India Iſlands*, in the firſt Term ——	£3,363,337 10 10
Ditto, in the ſecond Term ——	3,767,841 12 11
Increaſe, only	£0,404,504 2 1

The difference between the employment afforded to the manufacturers of *England*, by the *Northern Colonies* and by the

paradox to ſay, that the public would be as great a gainer, if eſtates there were ſo † moderate, that not a tenth part of the *Weſt-India* gentlemen who now ſit in the Houſe of Commons, could obtain that frequently expenſive honour.

It is allowed by thoſe well acquainted with the iſlands, that they cannot ſupply *Great-Britain* and theſe colonies with ſugar and other articles, and that they can by no means conſume the productions of theſe colonies; yet in * favour to them, we are almoſt

the *Weſt-India Iſlands*, is ſtill greater than it may appear to be from the firſt view of the preceding account: For a much greater quantity of *Eaſt-India* goods is exported to the laſt than to the firſt; and the *Engliſh* manufactures conſumed by them generally derive their value from the richneſs of the materials, many of which are brought from foreign countries, but thoſe we conſume, chiefly derive their value from the work beſtowed upon them, (Vide note to pages 2 and 3.)

‡ Vide Note to page 5.

† "A great advantage which the *French* have over the *Engliſh* in their ſugar colonies, is their *Agrarian law*, whereby monopoliſts are prevented from engroſſing too much land; ſo that the number of whites is greatly increaſed, the land improved, more commodities raiſed, the planters *obliged to a more frugal way of living*, and *all things rendered cheaper*. By theſe means *Martinico* can muſter 16,000 fighting men; but *Jamaica*, which is near three times as large, only 4000." TUCKER on trade.

* It is recited in the 6th of Geo. 2d. ch. 13, now made perpetual, "that the Sugar colonies could not carry on their trade ON AN EQUAL FOOTING with the foreign Sugar Colonies, without ſome *advantage* and relief given to them by *Great-Britain*." That *advantage* GIVEN by *Great-Britain*—was to compel the continental Colonies to take their productions at any price they pleaſe to aſk—In ſhort, to grant them a MONOPOLY for Sugars. This was taking *from one* indeed to give *to another*; but goes not to the

almoſt entirely prevented from ſending theſe productions to any other markets. Hence it follows, that we are frequently obliged to ſell our commodities to them at ſo low a price, as not to pay the firſt coſt and freight; while we, being in a manner prohibited from getting the *Weſt-India* productions, for which we have occaſion, any where elſe but from them, muſt pay extravagantly for them.

Nor is this management attended, as it is preſumed, with any benefit to the Mother Country, but with a diſadvantage; either where the productions of the foreign plantations are conſumed among us, or re-exported to *Europe*. By the compulſion on us to take from our iſlands, the price of their productions is raiſed on the people of *Great-Britain*. The Revenue would be encreaſed by this reſtriction being taken off, as we ſhould willingly pay a moderate duty upon importations from the *French* and *Spaniards*, without attempting to run them; while a very conſiderable duty would be paid on the § ſugars of our

the root of the evil; as the next preceding note evidently ſhews. For if *Great-Britain* ſhould ſacrifice her own intereſts and thoſe of her continental colonies ſtill more, *if it be poſſible*, to the intereſt of theſe iſlanders, *they never will* "carry on their trade ON AN EQUAL FOOTING with the foreign ſugar colonies," until there is the ſame moderation in their eſtates, and the ſame frugality in their living. By a very ſingular diſpoſition of affairs, the colonies of an *abſolute monarchy* are ſettled on a *republican principle*; while thoſe of a kingdom in many reſpects *reſembling a commonwealth*, are cantoned out among *a few lords*, veſted with deſpotic power over *myriads of vaſſals*, and ſupported in the pomp of *Baſſa*'s by *their* ſlavery.

§ The reſtriction on the trade of the colonies to foreign plantations for Molaſſes, is particularly grievous and impolitic, as the Molaſſes brought from thence was diſtilled for the *fiſheries*, the *Indian* and *Guinea* trades, the profit of which centered in *Great-Britain*. It is ſaid, our veſ-

ſels

our iſlands, which, inſtead of coming to us, would then go to *Great-Britain*. Beſides, whatever extraordinary price we pay for the productions of our own iſlands, muſt leſſen our demand for *Britiſh* manufactures; ſince it is an ‖ undeniable truth, that what

ſels now buy ſpiritous liquors on the coaſt of *Guinea* from the *Dutch*.

‖ This cannot be diſputed by any one who is acquainted with *America*. The increaſe of a man's wealth there ſhews itſelf in a greater conſumption of *Britiſh* manufactures of all kinds.——This reaſoning in favour of the continental colonies trade with foreign plantations, is confirmed by what Sir *Joſiah Child* mentions of *New-England*.——He ſays,—" *England* loſes by the *unlimited trade* of this colony to other foreign plantations, but gains by her direct trade to Old *England*, from whence ſhe exports manufactures to *ten times* the value of her imports." (See the note to page 2.) What was it then that enabled *New-England* to pay *ten times* the *value* of her *imports* to *England*, but the *profits of her trade to foreign plantations?* This appears to be a direct authority in ſupport of the arguments hereafter uſed. It ſeems therefore that *Great-Britain* of late, through too great eagerneſs to gather golden fruits, has ſhaken the tree before they were full grown. With a little patience they would ripen, and then of themſelves drop into her lap.

" The inhabitants of our colonies, by carrying on a trade with their *foreign neighbours*, do not only occaſion *a greater quantity of the goods and merchandizes of Europe being ſent from hence to them*, and a greater quantity of the product of *America* to be ſent from them hither, *which would otherwiſe be carried from, and brought to Europe by foreigners*, but an encreaſe of the ſeamen and navigation in thoſe parts, which is of great ſtrength and ſecurity, as well as of great advantage to our plantations in general. And though *ſome of our colonies* are not only for preventing the *importations of all goods of the ſame ſpecies they produce*, but ſuffer particular planters to *keep great runs of land in their poſſeſſion uncultivated*, with deſign to prevent new ſettlements, whereby they imagine the prices of their commodities may be affected; yet if it be conſidered, that the Markets of *Great-Britain* depend on the markets of ALL *Europe in general*,

what we ſhould ſave in that way, would be chiefly ſpent in this. It may alſo juſtly be added, that our commerce with the foreign plantations, carries to them very conſiderable quantities of *Britiſh* manufactures, for their conſumption. †

If our importations from them ſhould be re-exported to *Europe*, the profits would center in *Great-Britain*, according to the uſual courſe of our trade. The ſtatute paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of *Charles* the ſecond, indeed mentions this practice as injurious. It might be ſo, if regarded without its attendant circumſtances; but if *they* are taken into view, and it be conſidered, that if *we* do not carry theſe productions to *Europe*, *foreigners* will, no miſchief ſeems likely to enſue from our becoming the carriers. §

The reſtriction alſo with regard to our iron, is thought particularly ſevere. Whenever we can get a better price in *Great-Britain* than elſewhere, it is unneceſſary; whenever we can get a better price in

general, and that the *European* markets *in general* depend on the proportion between the *annual conſumption* and the *whole quantity* of each ſpecies *annually produced* by ALL *nations*; it muſt follow, that whether we or foreigners are the producers, *carriers*, importers and exporters of *American* produce, yet their reſpective prices in *each colony* (the difference of freight, cuſtoms and importations conſidered) will always bear proportion to the *general conſumption* of the *whole quantity* of each ſort, *produced in all colonies*, and *in all parts*, allowing only for the uſual contingencies that trade and commerce, agriculture and manufactures are liable to in all countries."
POSTLETHWAYT's Univ. Dict. of Trade and Commerce.

† See the preceding note.

§ See the preceding note.

other

other places; it is * prejudicial. Cargoes compoſed of this metal, proviſions and lumber, have been found to anſwer very well at the *Portugueſe* and ſome other markets; and as the laſt articles are frequently very low, and our foreign trade is reduced to ſo few commodities, the taking away any one of them muſt be hurtful to us. Indeed, to require us to ſend all our iron to *Great-Britain*, is, in the opinion of ſome of our moſt judicious merchants, to require an impoſſibility: For as this article is ſo heavy, and ſuch ſmall quantities can be ſent in one veſſel, they aſſert, that we cannot find freight directly home for one half of it.

Besides the circumſtances already mentioned to prove the injurious conſequences of the late reſtrictions, there is another, which has great force in perſuading me that our trade ought by all means to be more encouraged and extended at this time, than was formerly neceſſary. Our ſettlements then comprehended only a narrow ſtrip along the ſhore of the ocean; they were leſs populous; and their diſtance from the ſea ports being ſmall, they were ſupplied with every thing they wanted from thence, without any length of inland carriage. But now we have penetrated boundleſs foreſts, have paſſed over immenſe mountains, and are daily puſhing further and further into the wilderneſs, the inhabitants of theſe remote regions, muſt of neceſſity hold very little intercourſe with thoſe which are

* If the colonies can get more by carrying their iron to foreign ports, than to *Great-Britain*, (and if they cannot, there is no occaſion of a law to compel them to carry it to *Great-Britain)* they will be more able to make larger demands for *Britiſh* manufactures; ſo that *Great-Britain* will gain the profits of our iron, to make up her loſs by what ſhe takes from *Sweden*.

near the ſea, unleſs a very extenſive commerce ſhall enable theſe to ſupply them with ſuch quantities of * foreign commodities as they want, and at ſuch prices as they can afford to pay. Every reſtriction on our trade, ſeems to be a reſtriction on this intercourſe, and muſt gradually cut off the connection of the interior parts with the maritime and the mother country.

But it is unneceſſary to endeavour to prove by reaſoning on theſe things, that we *ſhall ſuffer*, for we *already ſuffer*. Trade is decaying; and all credit is expiring. † Money is become ſo extremely ſcarce, that reputable freeholders find it impoſſible to pay debts which are trifling in compariſon to their eſtates. If creditors ſue, and take out executions, the lands and perſonal eſtate, as the ſale muſt be for ready money, are ſold for a ſmall part of what they were worth when the debts were contracted. The debtors are ruined. The creditors get but part of their debts, and that ruins them. Thus the conſumers break the ſhopkeepers; they break the merchants; and the ſhock muſt be felt as far as *London*. Fortunate, indeed, is the man who can get ſatisfaction *in Money* for any part of his debt, in ſome counties; for in

* It is apprehended, that if the greateſt part of the commodities demanded by the back country ſhould not be *Britiſh* but *Weſt-Indian*, yet it muſt be beneficial to *Great Britain* to promote this trade by all means. For if the country nearer the ſea grows rich by ſupplying them with the productions of the *Weſt-Indies*, theſe will certainly conſume greater quantities of *Britiſh* manufactures.

† It is ſaid that in *Virginia*, the ſheriffs, inſtead of raiſing the annual levies, have been obliged to make returns into the treaſury, of effects which they have taken in execution, but could not ſell, as there were no bidders for ready money.

many inſtances, after lands and goods have been repeatedly advertiſed in the public gazettes, and expoſed to ſale, not a buyer appears.

By theſe means multitudes are already ruined, and the eſtates of others are melting away in the ſame manner. It muſt ſtrike any one with great ſurprize and concern, to hear of the number of debtors diſcharged every court by our inſolvent act. Though our courts are held every quarter, yet at the laſt term for the county of *Philadelphia* alone, no leſs than thirty-five perſons applied for the benefit of that act. If it be conſidered that this law extends only to thoſe who do not owe any ſingle debt above £. 150, that many are daily releaſed by the lenity of their creditors, and that many more remove, without their knowledge, it will not be difficult to form a judgment of the condition to which the people are reduced.

If theſe effects are produced already, what can we expect, when the ſame cauſes ſhall have operated longer? What can we expect, when the exhauſted colonies ſhall feel the Stamp Act drawing off, as it were, the laſt drops of their blood? From whence is the ſilver to come, with which the taxes impoſed by this act, and the duties impoſed by other late acts, are to be paid? Or how will our *merchants* and the *lower ranks of people*, on whom the force of theſe regulations will fall firſt, and with the greateſt violence, bear this additional load?

These laſt are to be conſidered in a very different light from thoſe of the ſame claſſes in *Great-Britain*. *There* the nature of their employments,

and the plenty of money give them very little occaſion to make contracts in writing; but *here* they are continually making them, and are obliged to do ſo. The STAMP ACT, therefore, will be ſeverely felt by *theſe*, in whoſe welfare the proſperity of a ſtate is always ſo much intereſted; and * tranſfers of property, that ought, in new countries particularly, to be made as eaſy as poſſible, will be much diſcouraged. From the neceſſity they are under of making contracts *to be executed afterwards*, the lower ranks of people here are frequently engaged in law ſuits; and as the law is already a very heavy tax on the ſubject in all parts of the *Britiſh* dominions, this act will render it deſtructive here; for the neceſſities, the follies and the paſſions of mankind, will not ſuffer them to ceaſe from harraſſing one another in that way.

NEITHER are the merchants here by any means able to bear taxes, as they do at home. A very great number of them there put ſuch ſtocks into trade, as would be thought large fortunes among us; and our merchants would think themſelves very happy to leave off buſineſs with ſuch eſtates as the others begin with. I ſpeak of the mer-

* In the preſent ſcarcity of money, the ſellers of lands, negroes, &c. &c. always inſiſt on having part of the purchaſe-money in hand—The buyers, unleſs they happen to be rich men, find it impoſſible to comply with this term, unleſs they borrow money, which cannot now be done but in very ſmall parcels from different perſons.—Each of theſe muſt have a bond; and each of thoſe bonds muſt pay a ſtamp-duty of one ſhilling ſterling, if the ſum be above ten pounds and under twenty—and if above twenty pounds and under forty, one ſhilling and ſixpence ſterling——beſides a heavy duty on the original contract.

chants

chants in general; for we have on the continent individuals who are rich, but their number is too inconſiderable to deſerve any notice on this occaſion. Beſides, the intereſt of money being lower at home than what it is here, thoſe who trade on borrowed ſtocks, can do it to much greater advantage there than we can. Indeed, among us it is almoſt impoſſible to get money to trade upon at any rate. How unequal, under the preſent diſadvantages, a merchant's commerce will be to the payment of all the taxes impoſed by the STAMP ACT on his policies, fees with clerks, charter parties, proteſts, his other notarial acts, his letters, and even his advertiſements, experience, I am afraid will unhappily prove.

THUS, I apprehend, that this Act will be extremely heavy on thoſe who are leaſt able to bear it; and if our merchants and people of little ſubſtance languiſh under it, all others muſt be affected. Our mode of taxation, hath always been by making as exact an eſtimate as could be formed of each man's eſtate; by which means, our taxes have been proportioned to the abilities of thoſe who were to pay them. Few perſons are employed in the collection of them; their allowance is very moderate; and therefore the expence is ſmall. No exceſſive penalties, no tribes of informers, no dreadful and deteſtable courts are neceſſary. This I imagine, is the mode of taxation, which in young colonies, will be found to be leaſt oppreſſive and deſtructive, and certainly the moſt equal: But by the Stamp Act, the ‡ wealthy who have money to

‡ If a rich man buys land, it is generally from the diſtreſſed, and therefore the ſellers ſituation will oblige him to pay for the deed, when the other inſiſts on it; and when

to let out at intereſt, or to make purchaſes, and undoubtedly ought to pay the moſt towards the public charges, will eſcape theſe taxes, while the whole weight of them will fall on the neceſſitous and induſtrious, who moſt of all require relief and encouragement.

But it may be ſaid, "That the merchants will not be affected by theſe taxes, becauſe they will raiſe the prices of their goods in proportion, and that at length *all taxes muſt ariſe from lands*."

This rule ſeems more applicable to very populous and rich countries, where the manufacturers and landholders through neceſſity or the force of faſhions, have preſſing demands upon the merchants, than to ſuch a country as this, where a great majority of the people live on their lands in a very plain way. For by practiſing a ſtrict frugality and induſtry, *we* may render ourſelves more independent of the merchants, than the circumſtances of more populous and wealthy ſtates will permit the other claſſes of their people to be. The high prices therefore which our merchants impoſe upon their goods, will diſcourage the ſale of them, and conſequently they muſt "be affected by the taxes," which oblige them to raiſe the prices in this manner.

However, granting that all taxes muſt ariſe from lands; it follows, that where the profits of the lands are ſmall, they can bear but ſmall taxes. The more labour is beſtowed on them, the greater the profits *will* be, and the taxes *may* be. In old

when a man borrows money, every body knows who pays for the bonds and mortgages.

populous

populous countries there is an opportunity of beſtowing this labour, and the manner of doing it is well underſtood. Thus in *England*, the profits of land are ſo great, as to ſupport a very large number of nobility and gentry in ſplendor, and to afford means of raiſing taxes to an amazing amount. Nor are the workers of the land unrewarded; for the farmers have ſuch long leaſes, and other encouragements, that they thrive and live comfortably, and many of them are very wealthy.

How different is the caſe in *America*? The inhabitants being ſcattered thin through the country, and labourers being very ſcarce, they think themſelves fortunate, if they can clear their land, fence it, and any how put their grain into the ground in ſeaſon. Manuring or ‖ improving ſoils is not known, except in ſome ſmall cloſes near cities; but every one muſt be content with what his land will yield of itſelf. With this it muſt be conſidered, that at leaſt four fifths of the people in *America*, live upon farms either of their own, or rented, and ſpend their ſmall profits in maintaining their families; and it frequently happens from the length and ſeverity of our winters,

‖ "Further, it may be obſerved, that our lands are not ſufficiently cultivated, even where they are capable of great improvement. Hence large tracts ſerve only to maintain a ſmall number of people. If we aſk, why our lands (meaning in *Scotland)* are ſo ill cultivated, beſides the OBVIOUS CAUSES ariſing from the POVERTY and UNSKILFULNESS of many of our farmers, the SHORTNESS OF THEIR LEASES, and other things which will occur upon the leaſt reflection, it is not a little owing to a want of inclination for agriculture, &c.
DISSERTATION on the numbers of mankind.

that the whole produce of a man's farm is not ſufficient to maintain his family and ſtock. *

We are informed, that an opinion has been induſtriouſly propagated in *Great Britain*, that the colonies are ‡ wallowing in wealth and luxury, while ſhe is labouring under an enormous load of debt. Never was there a greater miſtake. This opinion has ariſen from ſlight obſervations made in our cities during the late war, when large ſums of money

* Small as the value of our land is, it is ſtill daily decreaſing, by the number of markets for their produce being leſſened; which muſt in time give the people an inclination to try what they can make by manufactures.

The *riches* of a people are always in proportion to the number of hands employed in works of SKILL and LABOUR. Where theſe are few, there can be but little wealth; and where there is little wealth, but very ſmall taxes can be born.

‡ "It is certain, that from the very time Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the father of our *Engliſh* colonies, and his aſſociates, firſt projected theſe eſtabliſhments, there have been perſons who have found an intereſt, in *miſrepreſenting*, or leſſening the value of them—The attempts were called chimerical and dangerous. Afterwards many malignant ſuggeſtions were made about ſacrificing ſo many *Engliſhmen* to the obſtinate deſire of ſettling colonies in countries which then produced very little advantage. But as theſe difficulties were gradually ſurmounted, thoſe complaints vaniſhed. No ſooner were *theſe lamentations* over, but *others* aroſe in their ſtead; when it could be no longer ſaid, that the colonies were *uſeleſs*, it was alledged that they were not *uſeful enough* to their mother country, that, while we were loaded with taxes, they were abſolutely free; that the *planters* lived like *princes*, while the inhabitants of *England* laboured hard for a tolerable ſubſiſtence. This produced cuſtoms and impoſitions, which, if grievous to the plantations, muſt turn to our diſadvantage as well as theirs, and conſequently become detrimental to both."

POSTLETHWAYT's univ. dict. of trade and comm.

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money were ſpent here in ſupport of fleets and armies. Our productions were then in great demand, and trade flouriſhed. Having a number of ſtrangers among us, the people, naturally not ungenerous or inhoſpitable, indulged themſelves in many uncommon expences. But the cauſe of this gaiety has ceaſed, and all the effect remaining, is, that we are to be treated as a rich people, when we are really poor. *Tully* mentions a man who loſt an honourable office, by the homely entertainment he gave the people of *Rome*, when he could have afforded a better; but we have loſt vaſtly more by the imprudent exceſs of kindneſs, with which we have treated the people of *Great Britain* who have come among us, at an expence that did not ſuit our fortunes.

To all the diſadvantages that have been mentioned, it muſt be added, that our markets are much more precarious than thoſe at home. It is computed, that one half of the people there live in cities, and conſequently there muſt be a perpetual domeſtic demand for the productions of the earth; and foreign markets are not far diſtant for the overplus. Here the quantity ſold for conſumption among us is ſmall, and moſt of the foreign markets are very remote.

In purſuance of this deſign to bring down the pride of theſe PRINCELY PLANTERS, ſuch heavy impoſitions were laid in *Great Britain* on tobacco, that the inhabitants of *Maryland* and *Virginia* were diſcouraged from raiſing it. Then the mother country FELT her error, and theſe PRINCES were found to be very poor people. The ſame *unhappy ſpirit* is now producing the ſame miſtake. There wants but a very little more weight upon *Maryland* and *Virginia*, to prevent their raiſing tobacco, and to make them and all their ſiſter colonies ſink under their multiplied burthens.

THESE reaſons induce me to think, that the colonies, unleſs ſome fortunate events, not to be expected, ſhould happen, cannot bear the reſtrictions and taxations laid upon them by their mother country, without ſuffering very ſeverely. What then can we do? Which way ſhall we turn ourſelves? How may we mitigate the miſeries of our country? *Great Britain* gives us an example to guide us. SHE TEACHES US TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN HER INTERESTS AND OUR OWN. Teaches! She requires—commands—inſiſts upon it—threatens—comp. ls—and even diſtreſſes us into it.

WE have our choice of theſe two things—to continue in our preſent limited and diſadvantageous commerce—or to promote manufactures among ourſelves, with a habit of œconomy, and thereby remove the neceſſity we are now under of being ſupplied by *Great Britain*.

IT is not difficult to determine which of theſe things is moſt eligible. Could the laſt of them be only ſo far executed, as to bring our demand for *Britiſh* manufactures below the profits of our foreign trade, and the amount of our commodities immediately remitted home, theſe colonies might revive and flouriſh. States and families are enriched by the ſame means; that is, by being ſo induſtrious and frugal, as to ſpend leſs than what they raiſe can pay for.

WE have examples in this province, which if imitated by others, muſt unavoidably produce the moſt happy effects for us: I mean the examples of the induſtrious, frugal, honeſt *Germans*. Their lands are as well cultivated as they can be in this

new

new country, and they have the good ſenſe to require very little proviſions and clothes more than they can get from their own farms, and make with their own hands. If we only conſider for a moment the conſequences of ſuch a conduct, ſhould it be general, we muſt be convinced it muſt produce commerce, ſince all ſuperfluities would be exported; and the Owners having few demands in return, *that commerce* would of courſe produce wealth.

INDEED we ſhall be compelled, I apprehend, generally to imitate theſe examples. The late regulations, and our conſtant remittances to *Great Britain*, have extremely leſſened the quantity of money among us, and yet theſe remittances are not ſufficient to pay for thoſe things we want from home. Neceſſity will teach us two ways to relieve ourſelves. The one is, to keep the *Britiſh* manufactures we purchaſe longer in uſe or wear than we have been accuſtomed to do. The other is, to ſupply their place by manufactures of our own. I don't ſuppoſe our difficulties will *immediately* produce expert artiſts among us; but as the inhabitants here generally reſide on their lands, and live in a plain ruſtic way, they will be able to ſupply themſelves with many articles. Some author, and I think *Keyſler*, ſays, that in *Switzerland*, every family has all the trades in it that are neceſſary for its uſe. Their work is not, it may be preſumed, at all in the taſte of *London* or *Paris*, but it ſerves their purpoſe; and their coarſe clothes and ſimple furniture enable them to live in plenty, and to defend their liberty. Something of this kind will be, nay, already is, practiſed by us. It is ſurpriſing to ſee the linen and cloth that have been lately made among us. Many gentlemen in

this city dreſs now in ſuits produced, manufactured and made up in this province. The cloth is not equal in fineneſs to the beſt broad-cloth, but it is warm, ſtrong, and not very homely; and when the *Britiſh* workmen underſtand that they may meet with better encouragement here than they do at home, I believe in a few years we ſhall have very different kinds of cloth among us from theſe we now make. Inſtances are not wanting to juſtify the moſt ſanguine expectations on this head. *Spain* uſed formerly to be entirely ſupplied with cloths from *England*; but in the reigns only of their two laſt kings, *Philip* the Vth, and *Ferdinand* the VIth, their manufactures have been improved to ſuch a degree, even by that proud and indolent people, that this commerce has entirely ceaſed in moſt parts of that kingdom. The ſame thing has happened in *France*, notwithſtanding the deſtructive wars in which ſhe has been continually involved. *Switzerland* ſome time ago ſpent large ſums of money in foreign commodities; but now they make excellent cloths, and good ſilks, though the ſcheme at firſt laboured under very great difficulties. That country uſed alſo to be ſupplied by *Savoy* with wine; but the Duke laying a duty upon it, the *Switzers* remonſtrated, but in vain. At laſt ſome of the principal men promoted the cultivation of vines, though their predeceſſors had never planted any. The reſult exceeded their hopes. * "The demand for the *Savoyard* wine daily decreaſed, and inſtead of the precarious advantage ariſing from this *impolitic duty*, the certain revenue was *irretrieveably loſt*, and the induſtrious ſubject deprived of the benefit of his labour."

* *Keyſler.*

"BEFORE the ſettlement of theſe colonies," ſays *Poſtlethwayt*, "our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent. In thoſe days we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips from our neighbours. *Germany* furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thouſand other things, came from *France*. *Portugal* ſupplied us with ſugar; all the products of *America* were poured into us from *Spain*; and the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* retailed to us the commodities of the *Eaſt-Indies*, at their own price."

THE aſtoniſhing alterations in all theſe particulars, are too well known to need enumeration.

THESE inſtances, and many others that might be mentioned, may convince us, that nothing is too difficult for men to effect, whoſe hearts are filled with a generous love of their country; and they may convince the world of the dangers that attend provoking innovations in commerce. A branch of trade once loſt, is loſt for ever. In ſhort, ſo ſtrong a ſpirit is raiſed in theſe colonies by late meaſures, and ſuch ſucceſsful efforts are already made among us, that it cannot be doubted, that before the end of this century, the modern regulations will teach *America*, that ſhe has reſources within herſelf, of which ſhe never otherwiſe would have thought. Individuals, perhaps, may find their benefit in oppoſing her uſe of theſe reſources; but I hope very, very few, will wiſh to receive benefits by ſuch means. The man who would promote his own intereſts by injuring his country, is unworthy of the bleſſings of ſociety.

It has hitherto been thought, by the people of *Great Britain*, and I hope it will ſtill be thought, that ſufficient advantages are derived by her from the colonies, without laying taxes upon them. To repreſent them as an "expenſive appendage of the *Britiſh* empire, that can no other way repay the trouble and treaſure they coſt her," is certainly one of the greateſt errors; and to ſpend much time in refuting this notion, would be unneceſſary. Every advantage accruing to the colonies by their connection with the mother country, is *amply---dearly*---paid for, by the benefits derived to her from them, and by the reſtrictions of their commerce. Theſe benefits have been allowed by the beſt writers to be immenſe, and * conſiſt in the various employment and the ſupport they afford her people. If the colonies enable *her* to pay taxes, is it not as uſeful to her, as if *they* paid them? Or, indeed, may not the colonies with the ſtricteſt propriety be ſaid to pay a great part of thoſe taxes, when they conſume the *Britiſh* manufactures loaded with the advanced prices occaſioned by ſuch taxes? Or, further, as the colonies are compelled to take thoſe manufactures thus † loaded, when they might furniſh themſelves ſo much

* Chiefly; even the ſupplying her with naval ſtores, *&c.* being inconſiderable, when compared with the other advantages.

† "If it be aſked, whether foreigners, for what goods they take of us, do not pay on that *conſumption* a great portion of our taxes? It is admitted they do."
POSTLETHWAYT's *Great Britain*'s true ſyſtem.

By the conſumption of *Britiſh* manufactures in *America*, we pay a heavier tax to *Great Britain*, than if they were conſumed at home. For in the bringing them here, a vaſt number of merchants, factors, brokers and ſeamen are employed,

much cheaper from other countries, may not the difference between theſe prices be called an *enormous tax* paid by them to *Great Britain?* May they not alſo be ſaid to pay *an enormous tax* to her, by being compelled to carry their moſt valuable productions *to her alone*, and to receive what ſhe pleaſes to give for them, when they might ſell them at other markets to much greater advantage? Laſtly, may they not be ſaid to pay a heavy tax to her, in being prohibited from carrying on ſuch manufactures as they could have employed themſelves in with advantage, and thus being obliged to reſort to her for thoſe things with which they might ſupply themſelves? If theſe things are true, and can they be denied! may not the mother country more juſtly be called *expenſive* to her colonies, than they can be called *expenſive* to her?

What would *France* give for ſuch *expenſive* dominions? Would ſhe refuſe the empire of *North America*, unleſs the inhabitants would ſubmit to any taxes ſhe ſhould pleaſe to impoſe? Or would ſhe not rather afford them her utmoſt protection, if ever they ſhould be wretched enough to require

employed, every one of which muſt have ſuch a profit, as will enable him to ſupport himſelf and his family, if he has any, in a country where every thing is dear by reaſon of the high taxes.

So far was the parliament from thinking in the laſt war, that any further taxes ſhould be laid on the colonies, ſo convinced indeed were they that we had exceeded our abilities in the ſupplies we gave to the crown, that ſeveral ſums of money were granted to us as indemnifications for the too heavy expences in which we had involved ourſelves.

The ſums thus given, paid part of our debts, but we are ſtill labouring under the remainder.

it, for one half of the emoluments *Great Britain* receives from them? In ſhort, the amazing increaſe of the wealth and ſtrength of this kingdom, ſince the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, in whoſe time the colonies began to be ſettled, appears to be a ſufficient proof of their importance: And therefore I think it may juſtly be ſaid, that THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE POWER AND GLORY OF GREAT BRITAIN ARE LAID IN AMERICA.

WHEN the advantages derived by the mother country from her colonies are ſo * *important* and *evident*, it is amazing, that any perſons ſhould venture to aſſert, "that ſhe poured out her wealth and blood in the late war, *only for their defence and benefit*; and that ſhe cannot be recompenſed for this expence and loſs, *but by taxing them*."

IF any man who does not chuſe to ſpend much time in conſidering this ſubject, would only read the ſpeeches from the throne during that period, with the addreſſes in anſwer to them, he will ſoon be convinced *for whoſe benefit Great Britain* thought ſhe was exerting herſelf. For my part, I ſhould not now be ſurprized, if thoſe who maintain the abovementioned aſſertions, ſhould contend, that *Great Britain* ought to tax *Portugal*. For was not that kingdom "defended by the troops and treaſure of *Great Britain?*" And how can ſhe be "otherwiſe recompenſed for this expence and loſs?" If the protection of *Portugal*, though no taxes are received from thence, was beneficial to *Great Britain*, infinitely more ſo was the protection of the colonies.

* Vide notes to page 2.

So

So far I muſt beg leave to diſſent from theſe gentlemen, that if the colonies, by an increaſe of induſtry and frugality, ſhould become able to bear this taxation, it will, in my apprehenſion, notwithſtanding be injurious to *Great Britain*. If the ſum be trifling, it cannot be worth the diſcontent and unhappineſs the taking it will produce among ſo many faithful ſubjects of his Majeſty. If it be conſiderable, it muſt alſo be hurtful in another reſpect.

It muſt be granted, that it is not merely the bringing money into a nation that makes it wealthy, but the bringing money into it by the general induſtry of its inhabitants. A country may perpetually receive vaſt ſums, and yet be perpetually poor. It muſt alſo be granted, that almoſt all the money acquired by the colonies in their other branches of trade, is ſpent by them in *Great Britain*, and finds employment for her people. Whatever then leſſens the ſum ſo ſpent, muſt leſſen that employment. This I think will be one conſequence of the Stamp Act: For our demand will be as much leſs for *Britiſh* manufactures, as the amount of the ſum raiſed by the taxes. So much the fewer *Britiſh* merchants, artiſts, ſeamen and ſhips will be employed by us, and ſo much the more diſtreſſed at firſt, and afterwards ſo much the more frugal, * ingenious, laborious and independent will the coloniſts become.

* *Great Britain* will not only loſe in ſuch caſe, the annual amount of the taxes, but the people of *America* eſtabliſhing manufactures through diſcontent, will in time entirely withdraw their intercourſe with her—And therefore her loſs of the whole *American* trade, may be juſtly attributed to this inauſpicious beginning.

It is evident, from the concurrent teſtimony of her own moſt noted authors on this ſubject, that *Great Britain* is ſure of having our money at † laſt; and it appears no difficult matter to determine, whether it is better to take it in taxes or trade.—Suppoſe the STAMP ACT, enforced by uncommon penalties and unheard of juriſdictions, ſhould pick up every piece of gold and ſilver that ſhall wander into the plantations, what would *Great-Britain* gain by this meaſure? Or rather what would ſhe not loſe, by attempting to advance her revenue by means ſo diſtreſſing to commerce?

BUT if the late reſtrictions ſhall not prove *profitable*, perhaps they may by ſome be called *prudent* for another reaſon. We are informed that many perſons at home affect to ſpeak of the *coloniſts*, as of a people deſigning and endeavouring to render themſelves independent, and therefore it may be ſaid to be proper as much as poſſible to depreſs them. This method for ſecuring obedience, has been tried by many powerful nations, and ſeems to be the conſtant policy of commonwealths: But the attempt in almoſt every inſtance from *Athens* down to *Genoa*, has been unſucceſsful. Many ſtates and kingdoms have loſt their dominions by ſeverity and an unjuſt jealouſy. I remember none that have been loſt by kindneſs and a generous confidence. Evils are frequently precipitated, by imprudent attempts to prevent them. In ſhort, we never can be made an independent people, except it be by ‡ *Great Britain* herſelf; and the only way

† See notes to page 2.

‡ "If we are afraid that one day or other the colonies will revolt, and ſet up for themſelves, as ſome ſeem to apprehend,

way for her to do it, is to make us frugal, ingenious, * united and diſcontented.

BUT

apprehend, let us not *drive* them to a *neceſſity* to *feel* themſelves independent of us; as they *will* do, the moment they perceive that *they can be ſupplied with all things from within themſelves*, and do not need our aſſiſtance. If we would keep them ſtill dependent upon their mother country, and in ſome reſpects *ſubſervient* to their *views* and welfare; let us make it their INTEREST always to be ſo."

TUCKER on trade.

" Our colonies, while they have *Engliſh* blood in their veins, and have relations in *England*, and WHILE THEY CAN GET BY TRADING WITH US, the *ſtronger* and *greater they* grow, the *more* this *crown* and *kingdom* will *get* by them; and nothing but ſuch an arbitrary power as ſhall make them deſperate can bring them to rebel."

DAVENANT on the plantation trade.

" The Northern colonies are not upon the ſame footing as thoſe of the South; and having a worſe ſoil to improve, they muſt find the recompence ſome other way, which only can be in property and dominion: Upon which ſcore, any innovations in the form of government there, ſhould be cautiouſly examined, for fear of entering upon meaſures, by which the induſtry of the inhabitants be quite diſcouraged. 'Tis ALWAYS UNFORTUNATE for a people, either by CONSENT or upon COMPULSION, to depart from their PRIMITIVE INSTITUTIONS, and THOSE FUNDAMENTALS, by which they were FIRST UNITED TOGETHER. *Idem.*

* The moſt effectual way of *uniting* the colonies, is to make it their common intereſt to oppoſe the deſigns and attempts of *Great Britain*.

" All wiſe ſtates will well conſider how to preſerve the advantages ariſing from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive that there can be but two ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependence; *one*, to keep it out of their *power*, and the *other*, out of their *will*. The *firſt* muſt be by force; and the *latter*, by *uſing them well*, and keeping them employed in ſuch productions, and making ſuch manufactures, as will ſupport themſelves and families comfortably, *and procure them wealth too*, and at leaſt not prejudice their mother country.

BUT if this event ſhall ever happen, which Providence I hope will never permit, it muſt be when the preſent generation and the preſent ſet of ſentiments are extinct. Late meaſures have indeed excited an univerſal and unexampled grief and indignation throughout the colonies. What man who wiſhes the welfare of *America*, can view without pity, without paſſion, her reſtricted and almoſt

" *Force* can never be uſed effectually to anſwer the end, *without deſtroying the colonies themſelves.* Liberty and encouragement are neceſſary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there; and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops conſiderable enough to awe them, and keep them in ſubjection under the direction too of a needy governor, often ſent thither to make his fortune, and at ſuch a diſtance from any application of redreſs, will ſoon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the ſoldiers alone, and if it did not, *would eat up all the profit of the colony.* For this reaſon, arbitrary countries have not been equally ſucceſsful in planting colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by force at a vaſt expence, or *by departing from the nature of their government*, and *giving ſuch privileges to planters* as were *denied to their other ſubjects.* And I dare ſay, that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent conduct, would ſoon give us far the greateſt ſhare of the riches of all *America*, perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into our colonies for ſhelter.

There are *ſo many exigencies* in all ſtates, *ſo many foreign wars*, and *domeſtic diſturbances*, that theſe colonies CAN NEVER WANT OPPORTUNITIES, if they watch for them, *to do what they ſhall find their intereſt to do*; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it ſhall never be *their intereſt* to act againſt that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwiſe be averted, than by keeping them *fully employed* in ſuch trades *as will increaſe their own*, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for *them*, they may find it for *us.* The intereſt of the mother country, is always to keep them dependent, and ſo employed; and it requires, all her addreſs to do it; and it is certainly more *eaſily* and *effectually* done by *gentle* and *inſenſible* methods, than by *power* alone." CATO's letters.

ſtagnated

ſtagnated trade, with its numerous train of evils---taxes torn from her without her conſent---Her legiſlative aſſemblies, the principal pillars of her liberty, cruſhed into inſignificance.---A formidable force eſtabliſhed in the midſt of peace, to bleed her into obedience.——The ſacred right of trial by jury, violated by the erection of arbitrary and unconſtitutional juriſdictions——and general poverty, diſcontent and deſpondence ſtretching themſelves over his unoffending country?

The reflections of the coloniſts on theſe melancholy ſubjects, are not a little embittered by a firm perſuaſion, that they never would have been treated as they are, if *Canada* ſtill continued in the hands of the *French*. Thus, their hearts glowing with every ſentiment of duty and affection towards their mother country, and expecting, not unreaſonably perhaps, ſome marks of tenderneſs in return, are pierced by a fatal diſcovery, that the vigorous aſſiſtance which they faithfully afforded her in extending her dominions, has only proved the glorious but deſtructive cauſe of the calamities they now deplore and reſent.

Yet ſtill their reſentment is but the reſentment of dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Their obedience to *Great Britain* is ſecured by the beſt and ſtrongeſt ties, *thoſe of affection*; which alone *can*, and I hope *will* form an everlaſting union between her and her colonies. May no ſucceſſes or ſuſpicions ever tempt *her*, to deviate from the natural generoſity of her ſpirit---And may no dreadful revolution of ſentiments, ever teach *them*, to fear her victories or to repine at her glories.

I am, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE omitted mentioning one thing that ſeems to be connected with the foregoing ſubject.

WITH a vaſt expence of blood and wealth, we fought our way in the late war up to the doors of the *Spaniſh* treaſuries, and by the poſſeſſion of *Florida*, might obtain ſome recompence for that expence. *Penſacola* and the other ports in that country, are convenient places, where the *Spaniards* might meet us, and exchange their ſilver for the manufactures of *Great Britain*, and the proviſions of theſe colonies. By this means, a commerce inconceivably beneficial to the *Britiſh* ſubjects, might be carried on. This commerce the *Spaniards* wiſh and have endeavoured to carry on. Many hundred thouſand dollars have been brought by them to *Penſacola* to lay out there; but the men of war on that ſtation have compelled them to take back their cargoes, *the receipt of which*, it may from thence be preſumed, *would be deſtructive to the intereſt of Great Britain.*—Thus we receive leſs advantage from *Florida*, now it belongs to us, than we did when it was poſſeſſed by our enemies; for then by permiſſion from the *Spaniſh* governors, to trade there, we derived conſiderable emoluments from our intercourſe with them.

UPON what reaſons this conduct is founded, is not eaſy to determine. Sure no one conſiders *Florida* in the ſame light with *theſe colonies*, and thinks that no veſſels ſhould be permitted to trade there,

there, but *Britiſh* ſhipping. This would be to apply the acts of navigation to purpoſes directly oppoſite to the ſpirit of them. They were intended to preſerve an intercourſe between the *mother country* and her *colonies*, and thus to cultivate a *mutual affection*; to promote the intereſts of *both*, by an exchange of *their* moſt valuable productions for *her* manufactures; thereby to increaſe the ſhipping of both; and thus render them capable of affording aid to each other. Which of theſe purpoſes is anſwered by prohibiting a commerce, that can be no other way carried on? That is, by forbidding the *Spaniards* to bring their wealth *for us* to *Florida*, which is an unhealthy ſand-bank, held by a garriſon, at a great expence of money, and a greater of lives, that cannot for ages, if ever it will, yield a ſingle advantage to *Great Britain*, but *that* ſhe refuſes to enjoy.

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